

Mr. Gladstone's address to his speech on the suffrage, which he calls a preface, will not do him any good. It is badly written, dubious in meaning, and apologetic in tone without really containing a word which can be fairly construed into a point. Those who attacked him attacked him on two grounds: the Tories, because they said he had expressed a moral conviction in favour of universal suffrage; the thinking Liberals, because he had not guarded his just principle from democratic misconception. He answers the Tories fairly enough. The expression objected to must, he says, be taken with its context; that context excluded all morally unfit, and all whose admission would or might be attended with political danger; and he now explains this last reserve as including any danger "through the disturbance of the equilibrium of the constituent body, or through virtual monopoly of power by a single class." That is all the Tories can say with any appearance of fairness. They have never ventured to say, and we do them the justice to admit they probably do not think, that exclusion is for its own sake a positive good, or even a harmless element in an otherwise good constitution. All they ask is that no change shall be made which will impair the "equilibrium" which as they conceive exists, or throw all power into the hands of a class, which they said Mr. Baines's bill would do. If neither consequence is to follow, then of course they are simply content, and only ask why for the sake of inappreciable changes revise what needs no revision? But the objection raised by educated Liberals is not this at all, though it may read like it, and to them Mr. Gladstone's answer is most unsatisfactory. They say the equilibrium which all sane politicians desire does not exist, the middle class whenever excited possessing a clear monopoly both of legislative and executive power. From a mixture of laziness, flunkeyism, and real confidence, it yields habitually to a corrective force, that of the aristocracy, but it possesses the ultimate power, and on some questions, such as the relations of labour and capital, compulsory education, sectarian disputes, and a few points of foreign policy, it exercises it unhesitatingly, without the faintest reference either to the upper thousand or the working million. This monopoly, which has always been an anomaly, and may at any time become an injurious anomaly, these Liberals desire to remove by admitting the workmen to their fair share of power. Mr. Baines's bill, on behalf of which Mr. Gladstone paired, did not give them more than their share; but its principle went much further, and they asked how Mr. Gladstone proposed to keep the train from slipping upon the incline he was helping to construct? There is no answer in his preface to that query, only a limitation which is a Conservative and not a Liberal one, and a plea that his speech "was not a deliberate and studied announcement," which is in appearance a plea of modesty, a demand that no importance shall be attached to words which have gone all over England stirring up the fears of the few and the hopes of the millions, making all politics more real and all politicians more earnest, defining new party lines, and wiping out feuds which for years have impelled men who think alike into actually hostile camps. It is in form an apology for uttering words which gave to every workman in England a new hope, a revived belief that, after all, the public men who govern England might be as honest, as truthful, and as aware of the relation between word and act as any other Englishmen.

If we believed this "apology" to be Mr. Gladstone's real meaning, this preface to be, as the *Times* said, a full and clear retraction, we should despair of Mr. Gladstone as a leader for any party whatever. Apart altogether from the drift of his speech, great party leaders are not permitted to speak great oratorical blunders. We cannot have Premiers telling the peasantry in "announcements" not "studied or deliberate" that they are to divide the land, or expressing offhand a conviction that the Peers ought to govern the country, or promising a million or two of votes to the unfranchised, in order to lend new point to a discursive debate. Blunders are crimes in politics, and if Mr. Gladstone had made any such blunder, had really offered to modify the Constitution radically "as a course of argument drawn forth by opponents," there would be an end of his following among educated Liberals. Constitutional government tempered by oratorical "points" is not their ideal at all. But we do not believe that he intended to make any such appeal, to reach any degree from the firm and visible conviction, contained in the original speech more fully than in the speech plus preface. The apologetic form of the preface is, we believe, adopted for a very different end,—is not an explanation to political opponents, but an assurance to political friends that the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not intriguing. The talk all over town on the day which followed the speech was that Mr. Gladstone "intended to run his own horse;" that in the combinations which must follow Lord Palmerston's retirement from office he desired to be a leader with the nation behind him instead of a personal following. Mr. Gladstone, who though ambitious is not an intriguer—if he were he would have the "following" which is his greatest want—therefore assures the doubters that his speech was not "deliberate and studied," meaning that he failed to express his own political ideas, but that he had not planned by expressing them to jockey more timid rivals. He rejects the idea that his speech was a personal manifesto, and re-affirms that it was a political speech, saying more or less successfully that which he wanted to say. This is, so far as we can comprehend, an intellect, which like the Tor Stone is immovable but always rocking, is very nearly the same idea as that of most educated Liberals, namely, to introduce into the Constitution as many workmen as will secure that class their share of power, as much, in fact, as they can have without impairing the proportionate shares of the remaining classes and so stripping the nation of its right to rule itself in order to enable one class to impose its rule instead. The plan for accomplishing this end, which floats as it were through the speech, and is not repudiated in the pamphlet, is one for including the whole population in the constitution while still leaving the nation intact,—the exact end the Liberals who are Democrats have for years put before them as their constitutional ideal.

While, however, we exonerate Mr. Gladstone from the charge of retrogression, we repeat that this preface will do him no good. Apart altogether from the truth that those who aspire to be leaders of men should never do their thinking aloud, the preface has in it a tone of hesitation which Mr. Gladstone's admirers did not expect to find. There is one sentence in it which smacks as strongly of political falsehood as the conduct of the Whigs in this matter throughout the whole of this Parliament.—Mr. Gladstone, whose first point in the speech is that promises have not been kept, now affirms

ing that "the discussion is little likely to become practical except for another generation." That is just what Lord Palmerston says, and Mr. Disraeli says, and every false friend of reform would say if he only dared, and if that is what Mr. Gladstone means he has better have held his tongue. We trust that he does not mean it, that he really sees his way to introduce as well as support a plan of reform which shall fulfil his ideal, and be for the benefit of us who pay taxes, and suffer, and strive, and not only for that of our children, who may do none of those things. But it is vexatious when all through England educated Liberals are in want of a leader who can represent them, as well as some of their ideas, to find that leader not only giving forth an uncertain sound, but actually stuffing sand in his trumpet lest its note should perchance be too clear. This intellectual see-sawing, this determination to devote, and hopeful trust in hypothesis, is not Mr. Gladstone's merit, but his greatest disqualification. Most every sane conviction in overt act, to construct his building as well as explain the theory of architecture; but the old habit is powerful still, and the intellect which could best lead England is deliberately bound by its owner in a net of fine distinctions. An honest Cardinal advising reform in Rome would have written just such a preface, and of course plain Englishmen—who, and not refined Englishmen, make up the political army—can only admire him. They can admire a thesis, but they only follow an audible word of command.—*Spectator*, June 4.

TAXATION IN THE UNITED STATES.

(From the Special Correspondent of the Spectator.)

THE movement to diminish the importation of foreign luxuries is not so successful as its instigators hoped, and perhaps expected, that it would be. Of course it provokes attack and ridicule on your side of the water; that was to have been expected. It has its weak and its laughable points, and the *Times* and the *Saturday Review* are welcome to all the fun they can get out of it. But the *Times* slips, more so, into its ridicule one statement by which it hopes to keep up ill blood between your people and those of us who are not fighting for slavery. It says that one object attained by the self-denial which the movers in this matter hope to bring about will be "to starve the foreigner." Now, it may be a low-bred Yankee view of the subject, but I cannot help thinking that, in view of occurrences not many years ago, it is a becoming an influential British newspaper to intimate that Yankees wish, or are even willing, if they can help it, that foreigners should starve. The food which more than once has been sent from these shores to starving British subjects was paid for out of Yankee pockets. It went from the men of the Free States. And as to the occasion for the diminution of the use of foreign luxuries, think of this condition of things. We are conducting a war which, for its vastness and its costliness, exceeds all other wars; its needs compel us to use an inconvertible paper currency, and yet we are importing goods from abroad at such a rate that at the present rate of New York the specie balance against us, which has to be paid in gold sent out of the country, is, and has long been, more than 5,000,000 dollars a week. Now, the Yankee view of this matter may be as narrow as that of the other was low-bred; but we think that in our present circumstances it would be well for us if we lived more plainly, and did not send gold out of the country at the rate of 260,000,000 dollars a year from the single port of New York. Whether a feminine Anti-Foreign-Luxury League and Covenant, or the imposition of absolutely prohibitory duties on silk, and wine, and lace, and such like, is the better, is a question; but in some way we think that this excess of luxurious living should be stopped.

Yet we have not come to this conclusion because we feel poor, or doubt our ability to pay the interest on our war debt promptly and without distress. We know, and have long known, what I see by an article in the *London Economist*, the sharpest of you are beginning, after much puzzlement, to suspect, that as a nation we are far away the richest people in the world; and we are so because, as I wrote you a few weeks ago, we all work, and work profitably. And what is more, we pay our taxes promptly and willingly, the few rogues and sluggards, of whom we are of course have some, excepted. Yet I have seen it stated within a month in *London journals* of high standing that "the income-tax has produced the ridiculous amount of £100,000." What do these writers mean? Are they stark mad? For even if men desire to misrepresent and distort facts, they usually do so with some regard to the semblance of truth and the risk of discovery. This must be sheer ignorance. Why, the income-tax received last year from a single district in the city of New York—and there are many districts—was more than 2,000,000 dollars. There are five men in New York who paid together about £100,000 income-tax last year; and there is one who will pay this year 250,000 dollars, which is half of your £100,000 at once. And yet, large as are many of our fortunes here, and numerous as our men of large fortune,—having, say, more than 1,000,000 dollars,—our peculiar strength is not in these, but in the vast number of men who have moderate fortunes, and the, so to speak, countless number who have comfortable incomes. The number of men in the Free States who have from 1500 dollars to 15,000 dollars a year to spend is proportionately very much greater than among any other people in the world; and those who have 600 dollars a year (below which all incomes are exempt from taxation) are so numerous that, excluding immigrants, they may be said to constitute the bulk of the nation. Now these people have been paying for two years past, upon their incomes alone, 3 per cent. those of them whose incomes are more than 600 dollars and less than 10,000 dollars, and 5 per cent. those of them whose incomes are 10,000 dollars and more. This, in addition to taxes upon plate, and carriages, and horses, and upon all manufactured articles, and upon licenses, &c., &c.,—taxes that bring in from a single manufacturing in New England more than 1,000,000 dollars a year; and yet the *Saturday Review* said just a month ago, and other *London papers* have said the like, "that since the beginning of the war the people of the United States have scarcely felt the burden of taxation." This is true in another sense than it was meant. They have scarcely felt, but they have borne it; and they can march on upon the road they have undertaken to travel with a firm light step under a yet heavier burden. They know that it will, that it must, be heavier; nay, they ask that it shall be. For excepting the few rogues and sluggards aforesaid, the people, beside contributing by the hundred thousand dollars and the million to supply the various needs created by the war (witness 1,250,000 dollars produced by the New York fair for the Sanitary Commission, and 300,000 dollars by the fair at Brooklyn, a

suburb of New York, just across the East River) besides voluntary contributions all over the country at this date, the people are asking, almost clamouring, for such a rate of taxation as shall make the revenue of the Government amply sufficient for all reasonable contingencies. It is absurd to what I have said about taxation to add that, although the bonds of the State of New York were not negotiated abroad (which I did not know when I mentioned this matter before), and no foreigner was asked to buy them, and they are payable in "lawful money of the United States of America," steps have been taken to insure the payment of the interest on them in gold, and it is proposed that pledges shall be exacted from candidates for the Legislature that they will vote for thus maintaining the honour of the State.

THOUGHTS CONCERNING WHITE HATS.

An Indian potentate, not unknown to story, was in the habit of taking a mean and ungenerous revenge upon those of his enemies whom he particularly disliked. He used simply to present them with an elephant. The gift was like Hector's gift to Ajax. It irrevocably wrought their social and moral ruin, and led to the entire downfall of their entire house. In the first place, an elephant in character eats more than several wild beasts together, being an animal of a homely disposition, and consequently of a large appetite. In the second place, he works irreparable mischief in trampling down the plantations of the neighbours, and in exasperating their temper. But—last, not least—comes a still more serious drawback. It is extremely difficult to live up to an elephant. Possessing an elephant is like being member for a large borough; it involves you in all kinds of expenses, and poisons your mind with the false determination to do what you cannot do. The owner of an elephant could not consistently adopt a retiring and secluded life. He was hurried into society, he was led from extravagance to extravagance, till in the end he was brought slowly but certainly to bankruptcy. In Oriental climates, bankruptcy is not what it is in England—the sure prognostic of a successful commercial career. Bankruptcy in India is social disaster and calamity; and the elephant's master knew, when it was too late, what an awful task he had taken upon him in trying to live up to so splendid a beast. It may, perhaps, be safely asserted, that a white hat is to the Englishman only what a white elephant might have been to the Bengalee. It is not everybody who can afford to buy a white hat. The difficulty is not the price of the hat in itself, but what it leads to, and where it may, as destined by Providence to end. In these days of vicissitude, it is well to look the matter fairly in the face. Those who are about to purchase white hats ought at least to do so with their minds prepared for the worst, and with their eyes open.

Upon the whole, it appears tolerably certain that it takes—with the strictest economy—as much to keep a white hat, as to keep a couple of hunters in the country, and an opera-box in the season. Matrimony itself is a scarcely less formidable investment. Marriage is a lottery. A wife of a rare disposition may not care for fashion, and may prefer a domestic and retired existence; but the unhappy man who has consented to lead a white hat to the hyemal altar cannot hide himself under a bushel. A white hat is not a lottery, and its evils are tolerably inevitable. In the first place, it involves the necessity of an eyeglass—some white hats, indeed, can only be worn with a moustache; yet it is nearly as hard to live up to a moustache as to live up to a white hat itself. In the second place, it necessitates a social tone and an aggressive bearing towards the rest of society which cannot be supported without a corresponding expenditure. Of course, it is easy to do the thing meanly; but the consequence of this is contempt and disgrace three times as considerable as if one had never ventured on the first unfortunate attempt at ostentation. It is very easy to conceive how it all works by conjuring up a fancy picture of some daring traveller with a white hat upon the knifedoor of an omnibus. Nobody has probably seen a white hat in so degraded a position. A man of feeling and of delicacy would hesitate before assuming the responsibility of being the actor in any such scene. The immediate effect of doing so would be to expose himself to the derision of his fellow-creatures, who would not scruple to tell him that if he were indeed the possessor of a white hat, he ought to have behaved himself accordingly. It is therefore clear that niggardliness and unfashionable rusticity, under similar circumstances, would be both indecent and intolerable, and that England expects every man with a white hat to do his duty. Whether or no a white hat is even compatible with anything like strict devotion to a profession or to a calling may be questionable in the extreme. A man cannot serve two masters. He cannot unite the mode of life of a young nobleman to the sedentary pursuits of a lawyer or a merchant. How can he possibly work for his livelihood, and frequent the clubs, the races, and the parks? To have a white hat and not to wear it would be to rest unburnished, and not to shine in use; nor is an expensive tailor by any means the most costly consequence which it entails. A white hat requires to be aired regularly in the middle of the day. It is fond of whitebait, and it delights in dry champagne. It eats its head off periodically at Greenwich. Its bright home is frequently the Star and Garter. If it has any self-respect, it cannot afford to neglect Ascot or the Oaks. It is, therefore, a solemn source of anxiety to the partner of its choice; and if matrimonial felicity has its clouds, it must be confessed that bachelor existence has its expenses and its cares.

The most melancholy consideration connected with the subject of a white hat is that it never changes, and that no reform is possible when once it is launched upon its way. Nobody ever has heard of a white hat cutting down its expenses and retiring into private life. Where do white hats go when their career of dissipation is over? The answer to the problem is unknown. Their career of dissipation, in all human probability, never ends. Like the elephant, they may change owners, but they are ruinous to all in succession to the last. When white hats have irretrievably injured the temporal welfare of their earliest possessors, we may trace them for a little distance, and see them, like the upstart, poisoning all around them. The white hat, indeed, has its conventional stages, like human life, through which it passes, withering and blighting the financial prospects of those across whose path it is thrown. First, there is the early purchaser—young, handsome, joyous. The white hat takes him to the Derby, and the Derby, perhaps, takes him to the Jews. When the prime of the first youth is over, the white hat next passes into the hands of the driver of the Hansom cab. It is a sad thought, that it never seems to bring him a blessing. Frequenters of the metropolis know by sad experience the tone and disposition of the "white-hatted" Hansom driver. He is of a worldly, blasé, and exorbitant disposition.

He litters about fashionable thoroughfares. Living, doubtless, beyond his means, he cannot afford to drive anywhere for less than half-a-crown. From the Hansom the white hat falls in succession to the possession of the "four-wheeler," then it sinks to the crossing-sweeper, and last of all it degenerates to the Irish beggar. In all, it commotes or creates a dreadful tendency towards jaunty dissipation. It is as perfectly certain that a crossing-sweeper with a white hat has been a sporting man in his day as that an Irish beggar with a white hat knows something about thimble-rig. It is not that the white hat in its nature is vicious; it is only that, like the elephant, it is difficult to live up to such an ornament; that it is dashing, speculative, and extravagant. Nor is this character drawn from imagination. Who has ever seen a miser wear a white hat, unless, indeed, it be to blind society to his faults? He cannot do it. It is repugnant to his temperament; for though white hats are understood to be as cheap as the outset, in the event they are fifty times dearer than their rival black. They are light, they are airy, and they are comfortable; but they seem to have an awful tendency to undermine the human character. It is the duty of every honest man to pray that they may be the first downward step in moral and economical decline. A man who once hesitates to lose it, and it is to be hoped that all who earnestly wish to keep within their income will hurry past the seductive localities where danger lurks in the shop-windows without a fatal glance to right or left. The philosopher has insured himself against one of life's greatest perils who has steadily resolved to stick to the conventional colour. The black hat may be hot, it may be ugly, but at least, it is not bound up with the prospect of financial ruin.—*London Review*.

FORFEITURES FOR FELONY.

THE debate on Mr. Forster's proposal to abolish forfeiture of property as part of the punishment of convicted felons was in many respects a disappointing one. The House was very much too unanimous, and in consequence the principle on which the bill rests was rather assumed than explained. Indeed Mr. Hunt was the sole representative of true feeling on this matter, and though he boasts the possession of "a mind cast in an antique mould," he is far too reasonable or too fearful of ridicule to play the part of an obstructive with vigour or spirit. That forfeiture is a punishment which has obtained in this country ever since the time of the Saxons certainly proves it to be a venerable injustice, but had Mr. Hunt been at all equal to his task, that is not the only argument which he would have quoted from the pages of Blackstone. He would have found there a precedent which completely establishes his case, drawn from the reports of the decisions of no meaner authority than King Nebuchadnezzar himself. When that Royal jurist required "the magicians, and the astrologers, and the sorcerers, and the Chaldeans" not only to interpret, but to remember his dream for him, he proposed to punish their default by cutting them in pieces, and making their houses a dunghill, a clear Scriptural authority for forfeiture in cases of felony, which invests the practice not only with the prestige of remote antiquity, but with something of the sanctity of religion. Mr. Hunt's desertion of his proper line of argument is the more to be regretted because he certainly was not happy in the illustration of the merit of the existing law which he cited from modern history. There was once, it seems, a rich man acquitted of murder who left all his property by will to the judge who tried him, and it is conjectured that this was the fulfilment of a promise by which the culprit had bribed the judge before the trial. Supposing the story to be true, what possible bearing has it on the subject? After anxious thought the only mode of applying the anecdote which has occurred to us, is, by default, that a man is only hung for murder, but does not incur forfeiture of goods, he will not care to bribe his judge. But then that tells rather in favour of the bill, so that Mr. Hunt could not have meant that. Perhaps he will take an opportunity in committee of giving some further explanation. However, there was in the House one other member, no Tory, indeed, but endowed with a love of dialectics, which makes him uneasy when the current of debate runs so unpleasantly in one direction. Mr. Keble was clearly of opinion that the punishment of forfeiture is a mischievous enactment; but every time he was proving that, so he by way of change proceeded to show that one of the arguments against it is unsound. People complain, said he, that it is "unjust to punish the criminal's family for a crime in which they had no share. But he would like to know what punishment inflicted upon the father did not fall upon the children, and whether there was not high authority for visiting the children for the crimes of their parents?" But surely the passage of Scripture to which Mr. Keble alludes is on the face of it not an enactment but a statement of fact. It is no way enjoins us to punish the children for their fathers' crimes; it merely tells us, what, indeed is plain to every thinking man, that God has been pleased so to constitute the universe as well might it be contended that because the poor are never to cease from the land human law ought to provide for a perpetuity of pauperism. There have been times when even that proposition had its advocates.

"God cannot love, says Blunt, with fearful eyes, The wretch he starves, and plunders daily. But the good Bishop, with a meek air, Admits, and leaves them, Providence's care."

But it is enough for human justice to inflict punishments the effects of which she can calculate and the equity of which she can explain. The inequality of human conditions, the mysterious chain of cause and effect, which half-mankind worships under the name of fate,—these are laws, written indeed by the Creator on the history of our race, but whose justification He has not revealed, and which man must comprehend before he presumes to apply. Forfeiture of goods is in fact a relic of the old vindictive theory of punishment. It is founded on precisely the same principle as that which made disembowelling part of the penalty of treason, and which still lingers in the popular phrase "Hanging is too good for him." By the old German law the family of a traitor was exterminated, and the law by which the children's lives were spared expressly declared that this was due to the particular bounty of the Emperor, and that the forfeiture of property was to be maintained, so that they might "linguish in continual indignance, and find their punishment in living and their relief in dying." They who think that the sins of the fathers should be visited on the children will doubtless be edified by the exemplary piety of our Teutonic kinsmen.

But forfeiture as a punishment for crime is not merely open to the fatal objection that it is unjust, it has no tendency to effect either of the ends

for which punishment is inflicted. It is a punishment which can only operate as a deterrent on the minds of what are called "substantial men." But these are not the persons who commit crimes against property, unless, indeed, in the few cases in which they have indulged the habit of cupidity, and it has become uncontrollable, and it is therefore palliated by the weakness of this generation under the name of kleptomania. But such a tendency to theft as this is by its definition not to be checked by punishment, and crimes of violence are committed either in the excess of some one of those overmastering passions before which all bonds, human or divine, will break like tow. The only exceptions to this rule which occur to us, the only crimes which rich men commit deliberately, and from which they might be deterred by the dread of leaving their families destitute, are treason and duelling. The last is, we trust, practically extinct in this country, and the former is committed commonly so very deliberately that there is not the smallest difficulty in baffling the law altogether. Mr. Smith O'Brien not only preserved his property for his family while he was under a conviction for treason, but so arranged matters that after his pardon the Court of Chancery compelled his reluctant trustees to give him back again. It is true that the forfeiture of lands dates from the commission of the offence, but it is just as easy to convey away your property before perpetrating a premeditated crime as between the perpetration and conviction. So far as the law avails bona fide sales, it only perpetrates a fresh injustice, for it deprives the innocent buyer of that for which he has paid value without returning him his purchase-money. With exquisite humour Mr. Justice Blackstone said that this injustice must be laid to the door not of the law, but of the criminal who was dishonest enough to sell what he knew he had forfeited. In the case of goods, on the other hand, the forfeiture dates from the conviction, and though a merely fictitious transfer is of course of no avail, for the property really is still the convict's, yet the Crown can never in fact prove the transfer to be fictitious.

As a means of reformation, forfeiture is still more inefficient. It, in fact, comes to this, that when a man has committed one crime, the law takes care, by reducing him to abject poverty, that he shall have every inducement to commit another. Convict a well-to-do man of shooting with intent to murder, deprive him of his last sixpence, and then when he comes out of prison, unable to dig and ashamed to beg, what can he do but thief? It will doubtless smooth his road to so desirable a consummation that his wife and children, reduced to beggary, will probably be thieves already. A delugious example of the working of the great moral law of "visiting the children for the sins of their parents."

Nevertheless it is not to be regretted that Mr. Forster's bill will be revised in committee, or superseded by one from the Attorney-General. Simplicity is a great merit in law, but this bill is rather too simple. It merely enacts that henceforth "no conviction of felony shall cause a forfeiture of lands or goods." Now it certainly is not desirable that a convict, whether in prison or with a ticket-of-leave, should be a man of fortune. There is reason in the argument of those who would have a conviction produce civil death, and propose that the property should pass at once to the family of the criminal. But suppose that he has made a will, is the property to go to the device of his heir-at-law, to the legatees or next of kin? This perhaps is of little importance; but the question again arises—what is the wealthy criminal to do when his sentence has expired? On the whole, it seems to be sufficient that the family should enjoy the income of the convict's property during the continuance of his sentence. It is a punishment to a man to be made even for a time dependent on those who are naturally dependent on him, and if the law gave the income to the family the convict would probably get only the surplus that remained after their wants had been supplied. But whatever may be the anomaly of leaving a criminal in the possession of money, it is at least clear that the forfeiture is in most cases eluded without difficulty. Redpath is said to be living in Australia in luxury, the law of forfeiture notwithstanding.

The name of Redpath suggests the main

emendation which in some form or another Mr. Forster's Bill needs, for if Redpath has money it is unquestionably the produce of his crimes.

No doubt if the forfeiture of property to the Crown were abolished those whom the criminal had injured might recover their property in a civil action; but it would, we imagine, be necessary that each of them should first convict him of the specific felony by which he inflicted the loss on them. This rule should be abrogated at least in all cases where the criminal has been convicted of a crime; or, in other words, when he is convicted of having robbed A. not only should A be able to sue him, but B, C, and D, whom he has robbed also. Again, in some cases, as in that of a receiver of stolen goods, you may be quite sure that the goods are stolen, but may be quite unable to say whose they are. But it would be monstrous that either the convict or his family should be permitted to retain them. On the whole, we think the Commons came to a just conclusion. The present law is unequal, unjust, and inefficient, and it would be better to abolish forfeiture simply, as the Attorney-General admitted, than to maintain it unaltered. But there are some practical difficulties about simple abolition which discussion in Committee may enable the Government to obviate. We have a specific offer from Sir Roundell Palmer to introduce a bill, and Sir Fitzroy Kelly assures us that if he had remained in office the law would have been amended long ago.—*Spectator*, June 18.

THE SHIPPING INTEREST.

(From the London Review, June 4.)

THE British shipowner is living in the present; the cotton manufacturer in the future. We are assured that the ship-building yards of the Thames, the Mersey, the Clyde, the Tyne, and Wear never presented a scene of more attractive or more profitable industry. Every day new timber and iron vessels are launched on all our great shipbuilding streams. The iron shipbuilding yards are particularly active. New ships cannot, indeed, be built fast enough. American war has thrown an enormous amount of American trade into English bottoms. When the war broke out, two-thirds of the American commerce were carried in American vessels; in 1863, three-fourths were carried in foreign (principally English) bottoms. The completeness of this revolution cannot be realised without a glance at the magnitude of the figures. The foreign trade of New York in 1860 may be taken at 368,000,000 dollars, of which 248,000,000 worth was carried in American, and 120,000,000 in foreign vessels. As the war went on the proportions were reversed, and in 1863 the total amount of commerce was at the rate of 352,000,000 dollars, of which 260,000,000 worth was carried in foreign bottoms, and only 92,000,000 in American vessels. This

is wide-spread loss and sweeping ruin to the mercantile marine of America. The actual damage done by the Alabama and her sister ships is estimated at not less than £3,000,000. But that is the very smallest part of the loss. The general feeling of insecurity, and the high rates of insurance to cover capture and damage, have, it is calculated, injured the American marine to the extent of £200,000,000 and £300,000,000. The German war has operated in the same way—driving the commerce of the belligerent States, and especially of the German Powers, into neutral bottoms.

The remarkable increase of the foreign trade of the country also largely contributes to the prosperity of the shipping interest. The exports of the first three months of 1864 exceeded those of 1862 by a million sterling. But the exports of the first quarter of 1864 exceeded those of 1863 by nine millions sterling.

The steam coal trade in the northern ports has been particularly brisk, and it gives employment to a great deal of shipping, so that the export of railway iron. Take the exports of railway iron during the first three months of the last three years:—

1862, £482,536

1863, 596,296

1864, 755,084

The large profits made during the last year or two by shipbuilders and shipowners have naturally turned into this channel a portion of the joint-stock projects of the day. "Limited Liability" is daily working vast changes in commerce and finance. As the annual surplus wealth of the country—which, in a great degree, represents the profit of the trade of the country—is estimated at £200,000,000, it is natural that a considerable portion of it should seek remunerative investment in shipping enterprise. Hence we have had the Alliance Shipbuilding and Shipbuilding Company (capital, £500,000), established to purchase the ships and shipping business of Messrs. Smith, as well as of a freehold dockyard at Limehouse, the property of Young, Son, and Magway. It is announced that "all the ships, as well as the dockyard, are in full operation." Of a similar character is the Humber Iron Works and Shipbuilding Company (capital, £1,000,000), to purchase the extensive iron shipbuilding establishment of Martin, Samuelson, and Co. of Hull. It is stated that orders for ships exceeding 20,000 tons are now in hand, and that these can be turned out in a year. To meet the increasing demands, however, it is proposed to enlarge the works. The Millwall Iron Works, Shipbuilding, and Dock Company (with a capital of £2,000,000), is a colossal undertaking of this character. Glasgow follows in the wake with its Clyde Engineering and Iron Shipbuilding Company (capital, £500,000). Within the last year or two we have a prospectus of the Tyne Iron Shipbuilding Company (capital, £400,000), to purchase the shipbuilding establishment and dockyard of Messrs. T. and W. Smith, at St. Peter's, Newcastle-on-Tyne. Other joint-stock shipbuilding projects are in agitation, both in London and at the outposts. They show not only that capital is abundant, and greater than the wants of commerce require, but also that private shipbuilding operations may be advantageously merged into public enterprises on the joint-stock system of limited liability.

The activity of the shipping interest may likewise be traced in the new steam and navigation companies. Among them may be cited the London, Italian, and Adriatic Steam Navigation (capital, £500,000); British and South American Steam Navigation (£1,000,000); Netherlands India Steam Navigation (£300,000); Liverpool, Quebec, and Montreal Steam Navigation (£1,000,000); Channel Steamship Navigation (£250,000); Liverpool, Melbourne, and Oriental Navigation (£2,000,000); Clyde Steamship Company (£200,000), &c. In this sum of property there appears in the distance the cloud no bigger than a man's hand. Our sea-going mercantile marine exceeds that of any other country. The increasing use of steam and iron promises (say our shipowners) to give to Great Britain an annually increasing proportion of the carrying trade of the world. But we must keep up our arm. It is not enough to shut up the fleets and blockade the ports of an enemy, if she can succeed in commissioning a small number of swift steam cruisers like the Alabama. After a few captures, merchants and insurance companies become alarmed. Up go the sea-risks, and before long our sea-carrying trade would inevitably be transferred to neutral flags. The Liverpool shipowners have just signed a petition to the House of Commons with the view, first, of representing the enormous injury to the shipping interest of this country which would be caused by an interference in "foreign troubles or quarrels;" secondly, to pray for such an alteration in the Foreign Enlistment Act as may prevent the construction in British ports of ships destined for the use of belligerents. They declare that we ought to deprecate the precedent set by the Alabama and her sister ships in the exact ratio of our shipping and mercantile wealth. They recoil with dismay from the losses, direct and indirect, which threaten such vast interest in case of hostilities. It may, however, be doubted whether any alteration in our Foreign Enlistment Act would avert such a paralysis as has fallen upon the mercantile marine of the United States.

The shipping interest is peculiarly liable to alternations of sunshine and gloom. Less than twenty years ago the peace of the metropolis was menaced by a procession of "protected" seamen, who carried their grievances to the Minister at Whitehall, and told him their tale of distress and want of employment; they afterwards benefited largely by the increase in our exports and imports, consequent upon the free-trade measures of Sir K. Peel. The Russian war next created a sudden demand for transports, and millions of the public money flowed into the pockets of shipowners who had vessels large enough to carry soldiers, stores, and coals to the Crimea. The stimulus to shipbuilding, and when peace was made, the shipping interest could not go, without disturbance, adapt itself to the altered state of things. The Indian Mutiny caused a renewed demand for transports; but when the ships so taken up arrived at Calcutta with soldiers and ammunition, they found a difficulty in getting return cargoes, in consequence of the diminished production of the usual articles of Indian export. In 1859 we had an aggregate meeting of shipowners and shipbuilders at the London Tavern to represent the alarming depression of the shipping interest, which they said "threatened the ruin of all who are engaged in the varied and extensive pursuit of commerce connected with navigation." Another sum of two or three of Fortunate's wheel had given them plenty of employment at remunerative freight. But word of caution at this moment ought not to be regarded as ill-timed. There is such

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THE SYDNEY MORNING HERALD, FRIDAY, AUGUST 26, 1864

COAL and Cut FIREWOOD. W. JOLLY and CO.
 Darling Harbour Steam Saw Mill, Back of the street
600,000 FREE! Hardwood, Oak, Pine, Cedar.

FOR SALE—**BEST** Baito Flooring, Oregon; or clear pine. ROLFF, Contractor, Quay.

500,000 FEET Colonial hardwood, Oregan; also redwood. ROLFF, Contractor, Quay.

KAUHI and AMERICAN CIGARETTES, all sizes, by KALAH. CUTBERT'S Warehouse.

FOR SALE, Coat Fibre, Coat Wags, Mantle Bags, &c., &c. GILLPILLAN and CO., Manly, Victoria, Australia.

FOR SALE, a two-room Brick Cottage, located at the Apartment Arms Rotary Road.

TO BE SOLD, much below their value, a superior light roomy PHANTOM CIGARETTE MACHINE, sold by Mr. GURNEIT, 28, Aldon-street, off Fitzrovia-road.

HORSES, Haggies, and Dogcartons for Hire. GIBSON'S Horse Depot, adjoining Bar's, 233, Castlemore-street.

FOR SALE, a young Newfoundland dog, price 30 shillings. GIBSON'S Depot, 233, Castlemore-street.

FOR SALE, a capital pair Grey Belgians, price £30, 30 guineas. GIBSON'S DEPOT, 233, Castlemore-street. Also, set handsome Double Harness, almost new condition; and saddle, &c., &c. Price, 43.

HERBERT GIBSON here for private sale, 16 good seasoned HORSES, quiet to ride and harness.

SPRING-CARTS and Harness—3 superior complete hand, 10, 12, and 15 guineas each. GIBSON, 243, Castlemore-street.

UGUGY—Handsome second American Haggie, in famous order, £25. GIBSON, 233, Castlemore-street.

SPRING-CARTS, new and second hand, all descriptions, 25 per cent. reduction on former prices. Wanted: also drays, waggons, harrows, &c., every size and quality; and machinery, &c., &c. GEORGE STONE and 561, Brickfield-hill.

FOR SALE, good second-hand CART, shop, &c. Prices Walter Coach Factory, Farmstead-street.

WANTED TO SELL a new PATENT SAFETY Machine for cutting, planing, moulding, &c.

ABARGOAIN—FOR SALE, HORSE, HARNESS AND DRAY; warranted. Coach and Harness Shop, Handwick.

STORE SHKEP.—Fsquaters having mix d lot for sale. Apply to Messrs. JAMES WATKINS and FORBES.

STORE SHKEP MIXED lots of goods for purchase for cash, also sheepskins, mixed lots in any quantity. FORBES.

STORE SHKEP—Mixed lots, in other consignment, sold through FORBES for cash, after shooting.

20,000 DARLING DOWNS WEATHERED. FOR SALE, 20,000 Darling Downs bred weathers, 2, 3, and 4 years old. In equal proportion deliverable (short) on Darling Down at Glenelg or near it. If required, the party purchasing can be supplied in advance on the station where the weathers will be delivered. No E.C. in the above advertisement. All are station bred where they have been bred, and can now be imported.

MCORT and CO.

FOR SALE, BY PRIVATE CONTRACT, THE splendid fastening Station of LYNNHOLD at UFFENBORO and one-half share of the SLIVERS AMON STATION, in the Clarence district, together with 5000 head (more or less) of quail well bred cocks 1200 datts (more or less) horses 7000 shags, a large stock of which are now to lamb. Apply to Messrs. JOHN BINNY and (C). Pitt-head.

SALES BY AUCTION.
FAIRDAY'S Weekly sale.

H. VAUGHAN and SON will sell at public auction, THIS DAY, 25th instant, at noon at Furness Room, 141, King-street East,
Turkish iron bedssteads, glass pipes, rolls of paper, &c., sundries.

Unredeemed Pledges.
AUSTLIAN Pawn Office.

MESSRS. LISTER and BARNETT will sell by auction, at their Sale Rooms, King William-street, on MONDAY, 29, August, at 2 o'clock, the undermentioned pledges, pawned with them, as follows:
Moses, pawnbroker, 90, Farmstead-street, roll of Harris' disposable cloth, 10 yds.; 10 yds. of Harris' street, Chippendale, according to specific sales, v.s.—165s.

September—7th, silk skirt and shawl; 10 sh., silver and guard; 19th, ring, 12 silver spoons, finger rings, &c.; 26th, nugget 1 lb.; 25th, shawl, 3 pieces, 3 rings and 25 gold watches.

October—2nd, silver cup; 5th, dress and shoes pair; petticoat and towel; 7th, 2 rings; 9th, pair of gloves; 12th, 1 watch and 1 bracelet.

frock and caps and boots; 25rd, merino dress and
 table cover, eape shawl, 2 sugswe.
 November—1st, 22rd, gold girdle; 2d, 10, coat and
 silk dress; 3 ringer; 4th, 27rd, silver watch, 2
 girds.
 December—4th, 7 books; 14th, gold Albert; 15th, val
 maught and vest; 22nd, gold girdle; 24, coat and
 remnant doanls; 25th, ringer, sunny toys.
 1864.
 January—11, trousers, vest and cap, shawl, petticoat
 and shoes, Paisley shawl; 13th, pair blackenks and
 15th, dress and 3 pieces; 2 pair boots; 16th, hage
 15th, pair trousers; 17th, 2 pair trousers; 18th, 2 pair
 trousers and vest, cloak; 20th, silver tobacco
 2 salt diti, silk shawl; 22nd, gem's ringer; silver
 hunting compass watch and girdle; 27th, silk
 watch 44rd, 2 fitted cuffs.
 February—1st, shawl and frock, silver leather watch 17
 silver hunting lever watch 40506; 17th, 17th, 17th
 19th, 19th; 22nd, 22nd, 22nd, 22nd, 22nd, 22nd, 22nd
 shawl; 2 sheets and tablecloth; 23rd, pair blackenks
 and sheet, silk dress, and coat; 25th, pair trousers
 March—1st, gold girdle; 2nd, 2 pair trousers; 3rd, 3
 vest; 4th, dress; 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th, 5th
 piece and lining; 20th, shawl, petticoat, and table
 cloth; 25th, dress, petticoat, and vest.
 April—1st, dressing gown, 2 pair trousers, 2 pair
 and frock; 5th, black silk dress; 6th, 6th, dress and
 boots; 13th, large bottle; 16th, brooch, 3 pair
 21st, silk dress, 2 pair trousers, 2 pair trousers,
 25th, coat, trousers, and vest; 27th, pair
 Botany-street Fildges to be sold on the 25th September
 1863.
 July—4th, silver Geneva lever watch 6354.
 August—7th, dress; 3 petticoats, 4 antimacassars; 25th,
 10th, bedstead; 20th, 3 antimacassars; 25th,
 2 pair trousers, 2 pair trousers, 2 pair trousers,
 mattress, 2 beds, &c.; 29th, teapot and 2 deserts.
 September—2nd, 4 petticoats, 4 broochs, and 4 pair
 silk trunk and 4 pair trousers; 3rd, 3rd, 3rd, 3rd,
 &c.; 13th, 4 sheets, 2 counterpanes, &c.;
 silver hunting verge watch 341; 15th, 6 shirts
 bedgowns, 2 chemises, 2 pair trousers, 2 pair
 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st, 21st,
 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th,
 dress, petticoat and corsets.
 October—10th, pair carriage aprons; 15th, 4 pair
 &c.; 20th, 2 pair blankets; 31st, 3 pair
 blankets.
 November—4th, 3 girls' petticoats and shawls; 6
 cap, bag and 4 pair trousers; 11th, coat and
 dress; 17th, bottle and 3 chairs; 21st, silk
 shawl worth 12415, ringer, brooch and sugswe
 24, 4 bedgowns; 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th, 25th,
 28th, silk skirt, jacket, &c., bag and contents.
 December—1st, 2 sheets, bedgowns, &c.; 2 ringer; 15
 dress and 3 pair trousers; 20th, 2 pair trousers,
 watch 2450 and contents; 21st, shawl and vest
 24 pieces and stays; 26th, gold hunting Geneva
 4040; 25th, silk dress unmade; 25th, 2 shirts
 nightgown and cloak.
 1864.
 January—28th, shawl and dress; 30th, dress, 1 pair
 February—1st, dress, 1 pair trousers; 11th, coat and
 15th, 15th, 15th, 15th, 15th, 15th, 15th, 15th,
 bag, and contents; 25th, 2 chemises, 3 petticoats
 and counterpane.
 March—1st, dress & shawl; 2 pair trousers; 6th, dress
 trousers; 12th, pair wellington boots; 14th, 14th
 trousers, and lining; 31st, revolver in case.
 Also a number of other articles at 10th and 11th.
 TO BE SOLD AT WOOLLE'S, Pitt street,
 by auction, THIS DAY, at 11 o'clock,
 Heron and curts, luggage, waggons, spring-carts, &c.
 N.B.—No charge for entering horses, &c., for sale.
 Proceeds paid immediately after the sale.
 Curts Solicitors.
 At the Bazaar, on FRIDAY, the 26th instant.
BURT and CO. are instructed to sell
 at auction, at their Bazaar, **THIS DAY**, the 26th
 at 11 o'clock.
 * Young Tern,* a black cat skinned, 7 years old, red
 and white, with a white star on the forehead, and
 a white patch on the chest, and a white patch on the
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Imported Winchester Champion, his den by Old
Glasgow, s den by Lincoln, s den by Hancock
s den by Old Glasgow.
"Buckshot" a double barrel gun, bred by R. B. Hol-
mes, den of Winchester. Sire the imported in-
fernal shot, den by Old Glasgow, s den by Old Glasgow.
Both of these have travelled two seasons in the Winches-
ter district, and are now final pointers. They possess great
power, and are considered to be both very superior hunters.
Will be on view two days before the sale.

BURT AND CO. are instructed to sell
by auction, at their Rooms, **THIS DAY**, at
2 o'clock
2 halves.

The produce of imported stock.

